1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) ??0? AR? Khasi AR?

to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iawbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*mâw kyrdei*, p. 130), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 101—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and them are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thlen-lang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mon-Khmêr family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine seems immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*nei*, *phê*) and third person (*ê*, *hê*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phi*, *lê*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

1:Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the former subjects of the Khasis, the Nikirs; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

The third remarkable feature of Khasi magic is the custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *stonehenges* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive customs. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called *gnomic*: one of the last books of the Orphic cycle was entitled *Μαντικά*.

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi Art

Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the language of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khasis and those of the Mundas and the Khasis) was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam race and influence extended from the Vindyan all over the Ganges basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Naomiah, and Sankay group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam race), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale yellow and at times ruddy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi Mikir short-sleeved coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used ceremonially by the Syntengs and Lyngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst those Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to those Eastern Nagas, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows ...." Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout répandue, et qui les intéresse, au Cambodge du moins, aujourd'hui encore les peuples les plus éloignés du globe "les traits de famille." Ce sont ce des traces de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la propre appartiennent au type appelé en toute la terre. D'autres de ces mêmes, des mêmes, peuvent se considérer en même d'autres particulières, paraissent appartenir au propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île Malaisienne. De Cambodgiens dans un certain nombre, aux négritos, d'une connaissance d'origine des populations primitives des deux presqu'île, et ce trois groupes."

1:Jordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Annam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact that the Ho-Munda of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess funeral customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the earliest inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other:—

(a) Peculiarly shaped box, i.e. the box with the projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The earliest inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The earliest inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas?)
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts, but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmer group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Kit-lapling* (Khasi, *Ramsiew* deity), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U' Joshua Roy, it is esop, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not so close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone circles and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shilling and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

the War country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhoie and Lyngngam from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (*a*) public and (*b*) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, and they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiong Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri shoong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki law lyngkong.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kyntang*) in being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(*b*.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kpoh*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kongor and Kur kulong clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang khew clan, and many others.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

sary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hormu Bai Dienglah writes that, "the real religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ai lam*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *lieng-sang*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of those members of the family whose remains have been recently deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of these are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Sniabein*, or *U kni ranghah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the case in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either annually, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries, and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transformed, as has happened with some of the gods of the

being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Suid-Nia*, or *u Kni Blophah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the burning of the ashes in the cremation of the clan, a part of the ceremonial consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Pawa* and *U Tyngshop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Suid-Nia* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongjri have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *ing lawid*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular *cineraria*, each family, or *ring*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai kaw*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of first-fruits being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtangs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *ploo* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tang*, or "stickers." Amongst the Lyngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and cattle being scarce in the Lyngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyngams of Nongshlur bury the cremated bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being pulled over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngams bury the cremated bones and ashes in a ground in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the relatives of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral obsequies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Garos or Mons, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Mana* (plunderers), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificed animals and other edible being hung on the stone. The stones are also overlaid in white, and turbans are tied round the top. The death customs of the Lyngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the Lyngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in other respects: their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mairang villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in sepulchres, as at Cherrapunji. At Mairang and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the family of the chief at Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

ROAD SCORE

(From a photograph by Mrs. Hurst.)

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1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the Khasis long afterwards. The bones are buried in the village under a large slab of stone (cf. the Khasi stone sarcophagus), and a monolith is erected outside the village to commemorate the deceased.

KHASI MEMORIAL STONES.

Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost everywhere in that country. Yule, Dalton, and other writers have incidentally referred to them, but, so far as is known at present, no attempt has been made to explain in any detail what is the peculiar significance of these objects to the Khasis. These stones are rightly styled memorial stones; *kyrmaw*, literally "to mark with a stone," is the word in the Khasi language for "to remember." The memorial stone, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a memorial to the dead; but we have such names of places in these hills as *Mawshai*, the salt stone (the eating of salt till the blade of a sword being one of the Khasi forms of oath), *Wasmai*, the oath stone, *Mawphlang*, the grassy stone, and others. To commemorate with a stone an important event has been a constant custom amongst many people in many places, and the erection of grave-stones, to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are buried, is an almost universal practice amongst the Western nations, as indeed amongst some of the Eastern also. But the Khasi monuments are no more grave-stones, in the sense of marking the place where the remains of the dead lie, than some of the memorials of Westminster Abbey and other fanes; the Khasi stones are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. It is proposed to treat this subject under the following heading:—

(1) A general description of the memorial stones in the Khasi Hills, showing that they are very similar in shape to monoliths, table-stones, or cromlechs in other parts of the world and of India.

(2) A comparison between Khasi memorial stones and those of the Ho-Mundas, the stones near Belgaum, those of

I. Gurdon E-i, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

all the Mikir, the monoliths at Willong in the Manipur Hills, and the Dimapur monoliths.

(3) The meaning of the stones.

(4) The method of their erection.

With regard to the first heading, the stones may be divided into (a) menhirs, or vertical stones; (b) table-stones, or dolmens, and (c) stone cromlechs, or cairns, which serve the purpose of sincerie. Taking the different stones in order, the menhirs are large upright stones varying in height from 2 or 3 ft. to 12 or 14 ft., but in exceptional instances rising to a more considerable elevation, the great monolith at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, being 27 ft. high, and 2½ ft. thick. A photograph of this stone has been included. These menhirs are erected all in one line which nearly always consists of an uneven number of stones. Three is the commonest number of menhirs, but five together are frequently to be found, and there are some instances of seven stones; at Laitkor nine stones are standing, an illustration of which will be found in this book. The stones are of hewn gneiss granite, or sandstone, to be met with in many places in these hills. They are rough hewn, and generally taper gradually to their tops, which are sometimes neatly rounded off. The tallest stone is usually in the middle, and is occasionally ornamented with a small stone, through the middle of which a hole has been drilled so that it may fit on the top of the other. At Nongkrem there is a centre stone with a regularly carved top, evidently intended to represent the head of a man. At Umtaw, some two miles from Cherrapunji by the cart road, stood two rows of fine monoliths, each row five in number, and standing on either side of the old bridle road. All of these stones except one were thrown down by the earthquake shock of June, 1897. The centre stone, or menhir, of one of these rows was surmounted by a carved stone covering shaped like a hat, but having a rim with indented edges, the intention being evidently to represent a crown. This stone crown was riveted to the top of the large centre stone. All the stones, including the monolyethi, or dolmen, have been very neatly hewn. They appear to be of granite. Stones with top coverings or carved heads are however rare.

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In front of the line of monoliths is a large flat table-stone resting on stone supports, the top of the uppermost plane being some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground; this flat stone is sometimes as much as a foot or more thick. The largest table-stones are to be seen at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, and Laitlyngkot in the Khasi Hills. The Laitlyngkot stone measures 19½ by 12½ ft., and that at Nartiang 16½ by 14½ ft. The Laitlyngkot stone is 1 ft. 8 in. thick. Sometimes two table-stones are found parallel to one another. The table-stones are always placed towards the centre of the group, generally in front of the great central monolith. These groups of stones are usually situated alongside roads, or close to well-known lines of route, where they readily attract the attention of passers-by. They do not necessarily face in any particular direction, but are to be found fronting all points of the compass. There is nothing therefore to show that they were erected so as to face the direction of the sunrise, or of any particular planets. We will now pass on to the common stone cromlechs which are to be found, frequently in proximity to the monoliths and table-stones. These stone cromlechs contain the bones of the dead, and the monoliths and table-stones are intimately connected with them, inasmuch as memorial stones to deceased ancestors are erected when the ceremony of depositing bones in the cromlechs has been completed. The cromlechs are built of blocks of stone, sometimes on stone platforms, and sometimes resting on the ground. They are frequently of considerable size. The cromlech is opened by removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front. There are no windows such as are to be seen in some of the illustrations of dolmens or cromlechs in France and Circassia in Wilson's book of "Stone Monuments, Pictorial and Ornamental of Remote Ages," probably because the Khasi idea was to confine the spirits and not allow them to escape from the tomb and haunt the living. The cromlechs are generally square or oblong, but are sometimes circular in shape also. Let us now compare the Khasi monoliths with some to be found in other parts of the world. In Lord Avebury's "Prehistoric Times," Fergusson's work, and Wilson's collection of plates of stone monuments there are numerous illustrations of monoliths and dolmens

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

to be found in other parts of the world, which may be said to resemble those of the Khasis in appearance; but this is by no means a matter for surprise, for, given like conditions, amongst primitive peoples, totally unconnected with one another as regards race, and living in countries far remote from one another, the results, i.e. the erection of stones as memorials of important persons, or events, are probably the same all the world over. Waring in his book gives an illustration of several lines of stone monuments with two table-stones, either in front or in rear according to the position of the photographer or draftsman in taking the picture, which would appear to be very similar to the lines of monoliths we find in the Khasi Hills. In plate XLII., fig. 6, of Waring's book, are the lines of stones to which I refer. They may be said to be almost exactly similar to the lines of Khasi memorial stones, except that the stones depicted by Waring have circles or ovals painted on them, which are said to signify that certain sacrifices of animals have been performed. Now the Khasis perform such sacrifices, but they do not mark their performance thus on the stones. Ferguson on page 447 of his "Rude Stone Monuments" apparently refers to these stones, which are near Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, and he is of opinion that "they were dedicated or vowed to the spirits of deceased ancestors"; further it is stated that these stones are always in various numbers, a striking point of similarity to the Khasi stones. We know, for a fact, that the Khasi memorial stones were dedicated to the same objects as those of the Belgaum stones, i.e. to the worship of ancestors; so that we have not only similarity in appearance, in conformation, and invariable uneveness of number, but identity of purpose, if Ferguson's conclusion is correct. It is, however, a far cry from Shillong to Belgaum, and it may, perhaps, be thought more reasonable if we look for stones nearer at hand. Bradley Birt in his interesting book on Chota Nagpur has given a photograph of certain Ho memorial stones, which would appear to resemble greatly the Khasi monoliths, and if his photograph is carefully examined, it will be seen that there are in rear of the stones what would seem to be stone cairns, very similar in appearance to the Khasi cairnettes. The funeral ceremonies of the Hos as described by Bradley

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 Bier, viz. the cremation of the body, the collection of the ashes, their consignment to a grave, and the offering of food to the spirit of the deceased, are similar to those of the Khasis. Although not wishing to lay too much stress on what may be merely a coincidence, I think that the above similarity in death customs is well worth considering with regard to the view, based on linguistic affinity, that the Khasis and the Ho-Mundas were originally descended from a common stock, i.e. the Mon-Khmêr or Mon-Annam family, as has been postulated by Logan.

But there are other tribes in Assam which erect memorial stones, e.g. the Mikirs and certain Naga tribes. The Mikirs erect memorial stones in a line, the tallest stone being sometimes in the centre, as in the case of the Khasi memorial stones. Such stones are set up by the Mikirs only in memory of important personages, such as *mozendoro* or leading *pendaros* (village headmen). Besides the standing stones (*long-chong*), a flat stone (*long-pud*) is also erected in honour of the deceased. I understand that the Mikir stones, like the Khasi, are mere cenotaphs, the ashes of deceased Mikirs being left at the burning places which are generally by the sides of rivers, and the memorial stones not being necessarily anywhere near the burning grounds. Unlike the Khasis, the Mikirs do not collect and carefully keep the bones in stone cairns. Before erecting memorial stones, they dig a small tank; cf. the Khasi custom of digging similar tanks (*um-lai*), before erecting memorial stones (*mawsmai*), to those of the clan who have died unnatural deaths. As with the Khasis, feasts and entertainments are given when the stones of the Mikirs are erected; but they need not necessarily consist of uneven numbers, it appears. It is possible that the Mikirs may have obtained the custom of erecting memorial stones from their near neighbours, the Khasis.

There there is the interesting collection of stones at Willong in the Manipur Naga Hills, for a description of which I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Maxwell, the late Political Agent and Superintendent of the State. It is said that about 300 or 400 years ago these stones were erected by the rich men of the village as memorials (probably to deceased ancestors). It is the custom of the Willong village that any person who

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

wishes to erect such a stone should, with the members of his family, abstain from food; but liquor and ginger are allowed to them. Having chosen what he thinks is a suitable stone, the Naga cuts off a flake of it, returns home, and sleeps on it with a view to dreaming of the stone. If his dreams are favourable, he brings it in, otherwise not. From the day of the selection of the stone, until it is brought in and erected, he must fast. Women are taboo to him for the space of one year from the date of its erection. The custom of erecting memorial stones is not therefore peculiar to the Khasis amongst the hill tribes in Assam. An incidental reference should, I think, be made to the interesting carved monoliths at Dimapur, regarding the meaning of which there has been so much doubt. These Dimapur stones are remarkably similar in shape to the carved wooden *kime* posts of the Garos, another hill tribe speaking a language which is undoubtedly connected with the great Bodo group of languages in North Eastern India. The Garo *kime* posts, like the Khasi stones, are erected to commemorate deceased ancestors. Some of the other Naga tribes, besides the Willong Nagas, are in the habit of erecting what are called peace stones, a description of which will, we hope, be given in a subsequent Naga monograph. The object of the erection of such stones is certainly to show reverence to the memories of deceased ancestors amongst the Khasis, and Garos, and not improbably among the Nagas also.

It is only with the very greatest difficulty that it has been possible to obtain any intelligible information regarding the Khasi monoliths. Whether through feelings of delicacy in revealing the secrets of their religious system to a foreigner, or through ignorance or apathy (there being but few Khasis nowadays who observe the ancient ritual), it has been no easy task to extract information from people about these stones. As far as my information goes at present, I am inclined to classify the stones as follows:—

(a) *Mawlynti*, or *mawkjet*, the stones which are erected to serve as seats for the spirits of departed clansfolk on their way to the tomb of the clan, i.e. when their remains are carried by their relatives to the clan cromlech (see the section entitled "The Disposal of the Dead").

MEMORIAL STONES AT LAITKOR.

(*From a photograph by Mrs. Murrell.*)

1:Garden E-6, 5 (to date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

(3) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(4) *Mawsiehei*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or *wahkei*, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the ashes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

(5) *Maw-shyngkhai*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-places and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions seriatim, *mawlyngi*, or *mawkjet*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some cases which count more than three upright stones, as *shnaiyngi*, or *mawkjet*. As already stated, the shaulâk used to erect these stones, *mawlyngi* (the stone of the way), or *mawkjet* (the stone of the leg) at each place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the clan sepulchre, or *mawlah*. The stones are called *mawkjet*, or stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 2 or 3 ft. high, and are not massive like the great monoliths, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the clan cemeteries. These stones, unlike the *mawlyngs*, have no names.

(6) *Mawbyna*, or *mawnam*, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *maw-shyrong*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *maw-kynthei*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u maw kni*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *hi maw pyrsa hi para*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka lawbei tynrai, or ka lawbei tymmen*, literally the grandmother of the root, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

Cheddon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

Iawbei Khynnow, or *ka Iawbei kpoh* (the grandmother of the family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpoh*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynnow*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clan-people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *kingsang*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*mawe kyndai*) at a place called *Iew Kolk*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *doloi* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Mynlop*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Kolk* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also,

St Gordon E-6, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khaki A27

THE GREAT BOULDER AT SANTIAGO.

(From a photograph by the author.)

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

and that the latter were originally used by both of these for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either side of the *mawbah*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *mawlieng*, or the stone of the divus, and *mawkut*, the stone of the plantain; the divus being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawbah* must be described separately from the *mawlieng*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawbah* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called a *mawbah*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka Iaphai*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, or the first grandmother of the clan, or in the case of the *mawlieng*

(c) The *mawlieng* have already been described. They are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks, which have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrsi*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrsi*.

(d) *Mawshaphlieh*, or stones upon which every traveller must, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hât*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki mawjong Sîem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

E Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

U Leh Lasker and U War Phalyngki, to commemorate the re-establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Lasker" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *Syngkon*, or prime minister. "War" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doloi* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *spoi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *mau jing Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Leh Lasker and a great number of people from Suriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formulated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Leh Lasker. Near Sohiong there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *mau shongthiah*, or stones to mark the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kumpatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called a *mookai Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mookhot*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the house of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *wakhot*, or head sacrificer, of the [illegible] of Khyrim. The stones at Mawmai, which in ancient days used to be the head-quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills. At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

I:Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 192? ART Khasi ART

which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god has been carved, without doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved monolith near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang said to represent two women called nonthoundor kniam.

The Khasis say that these great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged upon rollers by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wet country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Nongkrem lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, SOCIETIES AND TRIBAL.

Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities, and is an important adjunct of some of their religious ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important an event to the Khasis as the *Iuk diengthlum* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pomblang* or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *sob-lloi* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

St Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kylleng Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong east wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of U *Kylleng*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U *Synger* is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Mulierem plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawryngkneng. The village of **Mawmai** every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine monolithic stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byrung* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sohpet Byrung* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King.

It Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

or difference. It is owing to these three different names being used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Synteng*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. the habitat of the Lyngams has been roughly defined. It is impossible to define the Lyngam country exactly, because these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhoom* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyngams are much darker than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyngams observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the Lyngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

doll is made of bamboo and this is supposed to represent either the great grandmother (the Jaubei of the elk) or the great great uncle (euldnia). They walk to the mawnian mawrukor (the ceremonial stones, ancestral stones) (36)

36. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 111, gives another description of these customs. He says: In Cherrapunji two dolls are made, called ka puron and u tyngshop. The former is supposed to represent the Jaubei, the latter the euldnia. The dancers hold these dolls in their hands.

[2n] with this ancestral doll (u tyngshop). While some dance, others set up "resting stones" or "foot stones" or "road stones" (maw kjat or maw lynti) on the way to the maw hah for the spirits of the dead, where they can rest on the way to the common grave. These stones are about a meter high and stand three in a row at each place. In front of these a flat stone like a platter is placed on four small stones which form a base or feet (maw kjat, i.e., stone foot). (37)

37. Cf. Table III, Picture 3: "Foot stone or road stone" among the Khasi.

On the day on which the dance ends they arrange ka pyngrei, i.e., a marriage feast of the spirits of the deceased, who died in their youth (grown but unmarried or childless). For this they choose two poor old people a man and a woman, of small size whom they pay for this.

2:Stegmiller-68 B-4,5(no date)1921 AM Rhoat AM

Table III

Gathering the Remains and the Ashes Ceremonial Dance. Foot Stone and Head Stone.

One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem Dê and offered before the oldest Khasi as a 'sun' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to inform the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great uncle on the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings knight) and the u Blei Shilling (the god Shilling), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

The u Blei Shilling plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains. Its name is "Shilling Peak." Here in the west of the god Shilling. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he [illegible] had not been born but came of himself (ka long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings. S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Blei long (he who is out of himself), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shilling and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

After the S'iem Dê has determined exactly the day of the ceremonies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangkah dkong). This is done on the day of the large market (Ïaw duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pen-ïdang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A number of chain about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kynwah. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kynwah to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacrificial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a tax (called pynthok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR? Khasi AR?

(2) *U'mid sin*, —*or departed maternal great-uncle.*
(3) *U shaw lang*, —*or departed great-grandfather.*

A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves of the *diapoung* (*Eupatorium*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrificial knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificed animals and the feathers of fowls. A great part of oak is to be found within the groves of the sacred residences of the Siem priestess of Khynriam, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature in the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd or *kloog* from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, *e.g.*, funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great puja of the Siems of Nongkrem.

13. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is ceremonially covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or *mynbah* which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(a) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.
(b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely cenotaphs, the mausoleums of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III. 2/1

1/1 [see end plate 1 - - - - Analysis]

St Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR? Khasi AR?

Stone No. 2 , the middle is called *U Mow Kni*, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 3 and 4 are called *Ki pyrso, Ki pyrso*, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 5 is called *U Mow Kmieng*, i.e., the stone of the dress, and No. 6 *U Mow kait*, the stone of the plantain. No. 6 is called *Ka Iaabei tyrsai*. The word *tyrsai* meaning root, *Ka Iaabei tyrsai* signifies the first maternal grandmother of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Mawbai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph.

Class (b).—Stones of th clan are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in this case of stones falling under class (a).

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called *U Mow thaneng*, or the stone of the grand .r or father. Nos. 2 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of U . father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of *Ka Iaabei*, or the grandmother of the father, —not the first ancestress of the clan, as in the case in stones falling under class (a). The pot split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, *vide* Fig. B. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 3, 4, and 5 in Fig. A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger monoliths in these hills.

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the sides of roads as *Mow-siang-thait*, or seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, *Ka Kumpat-mat*, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi States.

St Gordon G-1 (no date) 1904 ASI Khasi ASI

As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like the pictures of menhirs and dolmens that appear in Fergusson's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain Ho and Munda villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a monolith which is apparently very like the monoliths or menhirs that are to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written accounts of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

13. *Taboo.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *seng*, or taboo. There are very many different kinds of *seng*, but some of them are the following :—

Special taboos, at time of pregnancy.—(*a*) It is *seng* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(*b*) It is *seng* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became enceinte. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(*c*) It is *seng* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(*d*) It is *seng* under similar circumstances to fit an axe or a *dao* in a handle.

Ordinary taboos.—(i) It is *seng* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

St. Cleer Co. 3 (in situ) 1934 AE7 Sheet AE7

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

N9
N9
A11

[End plate 2]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K.

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágas on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dékor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side.

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspecter of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions.

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front.

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

The tall upright stones are called "Mao bynna", from "mao", a stone; "bynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mao shinran", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mao Kynthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs. My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizontal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monument having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or renown of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such mementos, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred after passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khāsi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the southward.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kūr" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtariang"; and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtariang clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five well-cut stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Surarun, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous land-marks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state.

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect.

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him.

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are,

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Janitia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintengs", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nāgas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrūng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asālu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs
●211 is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those
171 about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nāgas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the graves being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kūkis bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemeo ridge are the remains of an old Khāsi settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khāsi Hills, is at Lailang-kote, the arrangement is so different in every way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of quartzitic sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undertaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

[see end plates 2-4, Category 116 - - ~ - Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of 211 cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by [483] the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their 771 superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but 769 the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say 778 that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lārū, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtūng.

764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shūng," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

health, that we may increase and prosper, that we may walk securely, that we may enjoy our possession in security, that we may carefully ameliorate our families, that we may increase in number. Do thou embrace us, do thou confide in us, do thou support us whilst we observe the rules and customs, that we may become numerous, that we may offer thee sacrifices. Come thou and receive us, receive us at thy feet, that we may spread out on the right and on the left. Come, confide in us; come, support us; come, envelope our spirits with thy power.*

This sacrifice is generally made by a whole Kúr or family *all related* by blood.

Appendix C.

Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam", p. 19.—"Under ordinary circumstances so much importance is attached to the rite of burning the dead, that if the ceremony cannot be performed soon after death, either from poverty, or from the party dying at a distance, the body is first buried, and afterwards, as soon as convenient or practicable, disinterred and consigned to the funeral pile. Of persons of distinction, a few of the bones are kept, and either preserved in urns in the houses of their relations, or buried, with little pyramidal monuments over them, in the ground adjacent to the temples. Of these monuments we saw a good number: they are small and paltry, without any inscription.

Appendix D.

W. Griffith's "Journals", p. 75.—"Close to the village are the burying-places of two Singphos. These have the usual structure of the cemeteries of the tribe, the graves being covered by a high conical thatched roof. I find, from Bayfield, that they first dry their dead, preserving them in odd-shaped coffins until the drying process is completed; they then burn the body, afterwards collecting the ashes, which are finally deposited in the mounds over which the conical sheds are erected," etc., etc.

Appendix E.

Burning the Dead, etc.—"The practice of preserving dead bodies in honey has not arisen, as M. Schlagintweit states, from the extremely wet season experienced at Cherra. Bodies are burnt throughout the rains, as I have witnessed. Men of rank or wealth are treated in the above way, and are often kept thus preserved during the whole of the dry cold weather, and not burnt until a propitious time has been selected. The custom, no doubt, has been derived from its Eastern source."

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* Mr. Pryse remarks: "However devoid of sense or puerile the traditional and unwritten literature of the Khasis may be considered, the writer is not sure that he is able to elicit much more sense from many parts of the much talked of literature of the Vedas and Puranas of the Hindu sages," and he offers a specimen from the Sanhita.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 211 *Memoranda of Size and Height of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailangkote, Khāsi Hills (from careful measurement of same).*

UPRIGHT STONES OF GRANITE.

	Cubic feet.	Total, cubic feet.
No. 1=13ft. 10in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	=83·0	
3=18ft. 9in. × 3ft. 6in. × 9in.	=49·2	
10=11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 0in.	=44·7	
	——	176.9

UPRIGHT STONES OF SANDSTONE.

2=18ft. 6in. × 3ft. 4in. × 1ft. 8in.	=104·7	
4=12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 8in.	= 63·8	
5= 9ft. 0in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 40·5	
6= 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 4in. × 9in.	= 14·4	
7=10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 8in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 58·6	
8= 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 30·6	
9=10ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 2ft. 2in	= 58·4	
11=12ft. 5in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 46·7	
	——	417.7
	——	594·6

THE LARGEST FLAT STONE OF GRANITE.

Greatest length, 30ft. 4in.; breadth, 10ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot: measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet in mass 329·0.

FLAT STONES ON SOUTHERN SIDE, AND THE TWO STEPS.

	Mean breadth.	Mean length.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1=	6ft. 0in. ×	8ft. 4in. ×	8ft. 0in.	=33·0
2=	5ft. 8in. ×	9ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 6in.	=82·0
3=	5ft. 2in. ×	9ft. 9in. ×	1ft. 4in.	=67·0
4=	5ft. 1in ×	7ft. 2in. ×	1ft. 4in	=49·0
5=	9ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 0in.	=52·0
6=	3ft. 2in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	8in.	=12.0

295·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lailangkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=tons 23 : 18 : 3 : 7; for the other six, 295 cubic feet=tons 21 : 9 : 1 : 9.

DISCUSSION.

[113] 764 211 114 Dr. CHARNOCK said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1828 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khāsi (Cāsias). The paper in question, which related to the village of Supar-Punji, also contained drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large circular stones standing together. They were only a few feet

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

high, with a smooth surface, and resembled trees cut down; but it did not appear for what purpose they were used. Mr. Walters stated that the uprights and stone doors referred to in the paper were monuments to the memory of deceased rajahs and chiefs; that the upright slabs of granite were detached from the rock by means of fire; and that the dead bodies of the Khāsi are burned at an appointed place, and the ashes placed in earthen pots, which are deposited under the stones. He (Dr. Charnock) doubted the suggested derivation of the name of the tribe. If derived from the Hindústání, it could not be very ancient. The chief interest in the paper lay in the fact that the Khāsi erect these monuments at the present day.

Sir DUNCAN GIBB said there was a feature of some interest in the author's very interesting paper, and that was the statement that the stones of the megalithic remains described by him were obtained from quarries of sandstone not far distant from the place in which they were erected. Now, this point he looked upon as of considerable importance, because it so readily explained the comparative facility of transport of such huge masses of stone as entered into the construction of the monuments described. In this country the most diverse opinions prevailed as to the locality whence the stones were obtained composing such monuments as are found at Stonehenge, Aylesbury, and other places, and he thought the author had added to the value of his paper by giving accurate details as to the locality whence the stone was obtained, composing the remarkable monuments so graphically illustrated; nevertheless, as a geologist, he should like to know from the author to what formation these sandstones belonged.

Col. A. LANE FOX thought the Institute might be congratulated upon the paper which they had just heard, which was one of the most important contributions to anthropology that had been received for some time past. It was impossible to overrate the value of the details of the manners and customs which Major Godwin Austin had given, and which were associated with the erection of these megalithic monuments at the present time. They might at some future time serve as links of evidence in interpreting the object of similar monuments in other times and places. The great problem before the Institute, he thought, was how far the builders of these monuments in our own time might be regarded as the representatives of those who erected them in the prehistoric period of Europe, or how far the monuments themselves might be regarded as survivals from the prehistoric age. The geographical distribution of these monuments, as he had before shown in the *Ethnological Journal*, was continuous, or nearly so, extending from those Kassias in the north-east of India to Central India, Persia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, along the north coast of Africa bordering the Mediterranean. They are found in Etruria, up the south and west coast of France into Britain, and as far as Denmark and Sweden. In so far as our present knowledge enabled us to judge, they were unknown in Russia proper, in Northern Asia, in Central and Southern Africa, and on the two continents of America, with the exception of Peru. Their continuous geographical distribu-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 217 114

tion extending from our own country to the country of these Kassias was in favour of the view that their erection might be a practice handed down by them from the remotest time; and this gave great additional interest to the study of the customs of the people who built them. Evidence of great antiquity of these monuments in India was wanting; most of those examined in Central India have been found to be associated with implements of iron; but it had been shewn that iron in the soil in that country would be preserved for ages, and there was no knowing how far back the use of this metal might have extended. There was one peculiar custom which in Europe, Africa, and Russia appeared to have nearly the same geographical distribution as those monuments, and which was sometimes associated with them; he alluded to the custom of placing pieces of rags upon trees at holy wells and elsewhere as a cure for diseases, and he should like to ask Major Austin whether this custom prevailed amongst these Kassias or in their neighbourhood.

Mr. Hyde Clarke observed that Colonel Fox had just enumerated the geographical region of megalithic monuments, and this was precisely the region described in his paper on the Caucaso-Tibetans. The areas are coincident. The Khasias are seated among tribes, which have linguistic affinities with Georgian and Palæogeorgian. The present Khasias cannot, however, be considered as *in situ* in reference to the ancient migration connected with the stone monuments of the Dekkan, but are a subsequent migration. The connection of traditions between Khasias, etc., and Burmah is simply because they are obtained from a common centre in High Asia. Among the many valuable facts is that of the male and female stones, and the numbers of these are, perhaps, also male and female. The numbers three and seven signify middle. In two cases where eleven occur they are arranged as six and five. The male stones are more numerous than the female, and may have some relation to polyandrous notions. Egg divination may possibly have its metaphysical basis in the relations which exist in many languages in the form of words for eye (eage) and egg. Major Austen's testimony to the moral qualities of the hill tribes is of value. Dr. Hunter, hon. member Anthropological Institute, has pointed out in his *Rural Life in Bengal* that it is on the hill tribes we must greatly rely for the invigoration of our Indian empire.

Mr. W. C. Dendy: The great merit of this paper is that it is written by a careful observer who was an eye-witness of all which he describes; one such narrative is worth a volume of compilations. In our own region the megalith is a relic of very ancient date, the record, perhaps, of a semi-barbarous race, and all account of them is usually speculative and conjectural. In the east we learn there are kistvaens and cromlechs and dolmens of recent date, the constructors of which are yet in existence, and an inquiry into their history may elucidate by analogy some of the obscurity that has yet clouded our own megalithic monuments. Choir Gawr or Stonehenge is composed of several sorts of rock, blue stone and marble, sand and granitic: why is this variety of selection? Among Major Austen's sketches there is

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 one of a beautiful megalithic temple, and he alluded to male and
● 211 female stones. May this variety of quality and colour in the stones
114 be symbolical of idol or astral or planetary worship? In Asia, it seems, these relics are chiefly within a certain latitude forming a belt from Oceania to the Mediterranean, the zone, indeed, of the anthropomorphous simiæ; and we have accounts of the relics of Asiatic pigmies discovered in and around one of these cromlechs not remote from the Khasi Hills. Remembering the influence of climate on both mind and body, it might be interesting to inquire how far a superstitious psychology may be an ethnic trait among the less accomplished orientals.

Dr. A. Campbell, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. J. W. Flower, Dr. Seemann, Mr. E. B. Tylor, Mr. Wake, and the Chairman, also took part in the discussion.

9, Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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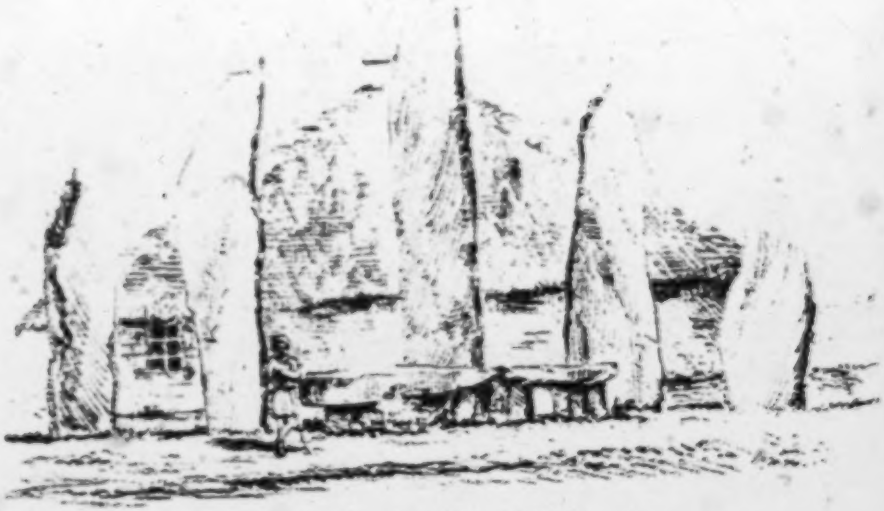
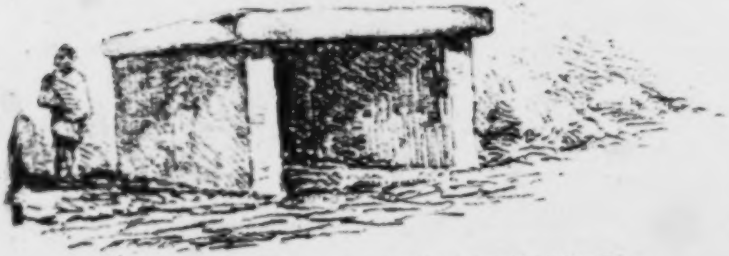


THE STONES AT MAOPLANG KHASI HILLS.



MAO-BAH's MAO SHIING. BONE REPOSITORY. CHERRA POONJEE.

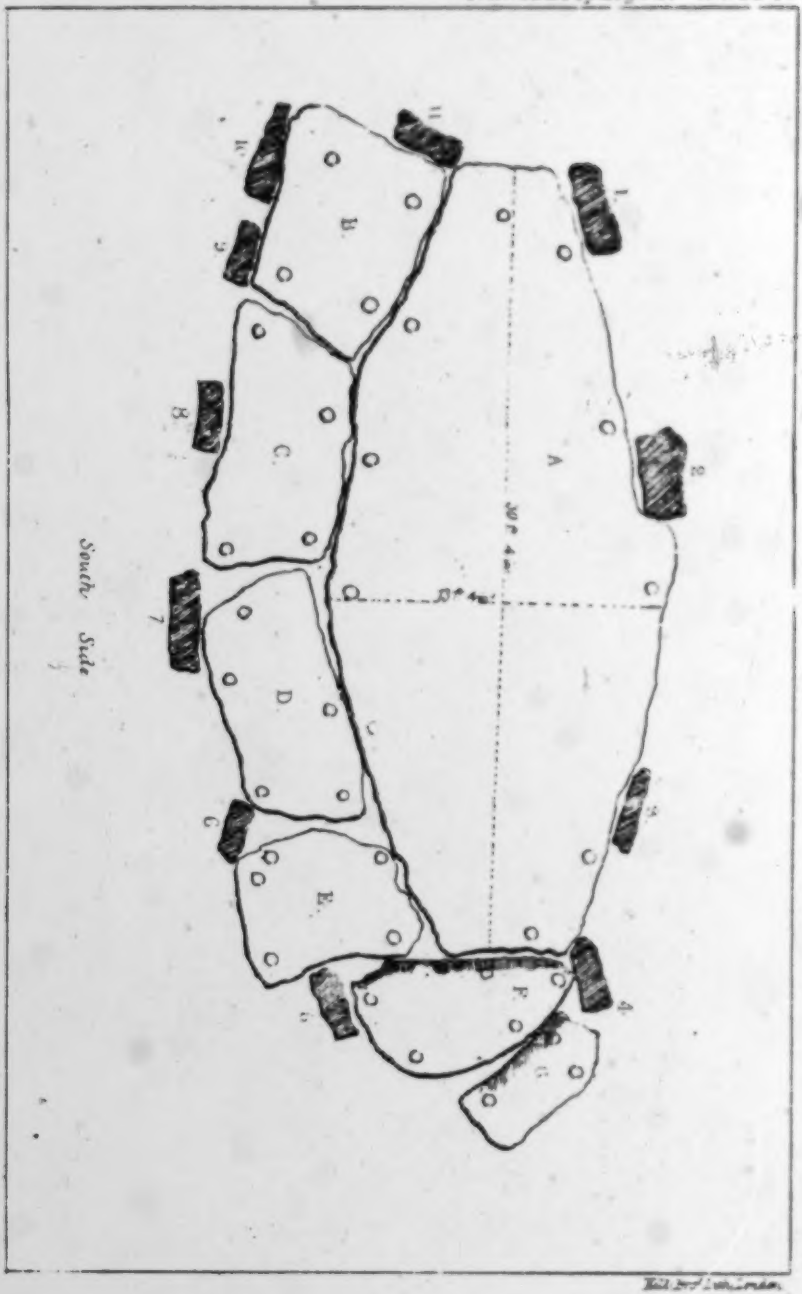
MA[illegible]
SOUTH OF [illegible] KHASIA HILLS.

9> Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

STONE SPHINX AT ANCIENT KHASI CITY

[End plate 2]

211



[End plate 3]

[End plate 4]

PLANS OF MONUMENTAL STONE STRUCTURES, KHASI HILLS

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 patches of open forest, and with scattered fir trees and oaks. Though south of the Himalaya range the character of the
137 country is more like that found in the Himalayas at 4,000 feet higher elevation, and many plants, never collected in the Himalayas below 9,000 feet above sea-level, are found in the Khasi Hills between 4,500—6,000 feet. In this marvellous plateau the sub-alpine and the sub-tropical forms overlap; at the very foot of elegant palms may be gathered the identical stag's horn moss, which, in Britain, is found only on mountains. On a fir tree much resembling a scraggy Scotch-fir is seen growing the Vanda cœrulea, the king of epiphytic orchids; a gnarled oak will carry a gigantic tropical liane; the painted lady and many other British species of lepidoptera will be accompanied by gorgeous tropical papilios and by window moths eleven inches across the wing; the cuckoo and Himalayan pheasant are above, while the tiger, the wild elephant and the green python are below. Justly has Dr. Hooker observed, "I know no spot in the world more calculated to fascinate the naturalist who, while appreciating the elements of which a landscape is composed, is also keenly alive to the beauty and grandeur of tropical scenery."

211 2. Almost throughout Khasi-land, and in a less degree through the Jaintea country, monumental stones are common. They are numerous in villages in the valleys, but are specially prominent, and sometimes of gigantic size, scattered over the rounded hill-tops where they form a feature in the landscape. In all modern treatises of Archæology and Anthropology the study of monumental stones forms an important chapter. Monuments of a remarkable similarity in design are found alike in Europe, Asia, and isolated islands in the Pacific Ocean, and these are in general of such extreme antiquity that they are treated as belonging to the prehistoric age. The Khasi stone monuments have attracted already much attention; first because of their great number and size; and, secondly and chiefly, because on these hills the erection of these monuments is now in full practice. It is reasonably supposed that a careful study of the Khasi method of raising the stones, and of the traditions or customs in accordance with which they raise them, may throw some light upon more ancient monuments of the same kind, even upon Stonehenge. It has been proposed to send out a commission from England to survey these Khasi stone monuments. They are described by Dr. Hooker, in his work (Min. Journ. II. 276), also by Colonel Raban in the *Calcutta Review*, and some account has been lately given by Major Godwin-Austen in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," No. 2, Oct. 1871.[1] The present memoir was written

[1] [This article has been specially for the Life. —Analyst]

years ago, previous to some of these published accounts, but contains several details not given by any of them.

3. The Khasi stones are of three classes, viz :—

a. The funeral pyres.

b. The kists containing the pots of ashes.

c. The monumental groups.

It is the last class (c.) which has, hitherto, nearly monopolised attention, and to which the published notices almost exclusively refer.

4. The Funeral Pyres.—When a rich man dies his body is generally reduced to ashes immediately, but his honorific cremation does not take place till some time, often a year, afterwards. In the interim the earthen jar containing his ashes is kept "under a stone" (in Khasi talk) *i.e.*, in a small temporary closed kist. For the honorific burning a pyre is prepared on which the ashes are burnt over again a very little, *pro forma*, and the great funeral feast follows.

The pyre is placed just outside the village of the deceased, on a hillock or in a clear space and near the road. The modern pyres are usually square (approximately), the sides of stone (dressed or undressed according to the means of the family) about four or five feet high, the whole of the middle filled with loose stones and earth up to the level of the walls.*

A pyre was raised about four years ago just outside the village of Mausmai close by the English main road. Many hundreds of men and women carrying from ¼ cwt. to 1½ cwt. on their backs pass close by this pyre daily and a considerable per centage rest a few minutes on it. Ledges are raised on two sides, but are by no means essential to a pyre; they merely add a utility. The Khasis mean the ledges to be a convenient height to rest on with a load, and each ledge satisfies this condition, but no Khasi would dream of measuring with a two-foot rule, so as to get them the same height. So the pyre itself is meant to be a square or thereabouts. All the Khasi stonework is done in this way; they do not care to make it geometrically accurate, and consequently in my opinion little valuable result could be drawn from any accurate measurement and mapping of the stone monuments.

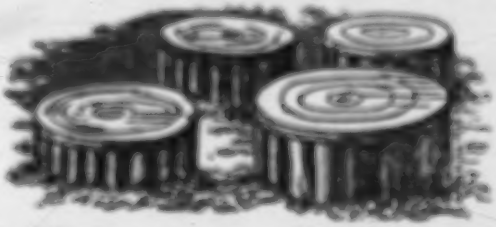
This pyre at the entrance to Mausmai is one of the most complete modern pyres. The ancient pyres were very seldom (if ever) made with hewn stones, and the Khasis state that in former times they were as often made round (*i. e.* oval) as square. Being thus originally very roughly shapen heaps of loose

* For admirable illustrations of the Khasi monuments, see "Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland," vol. i, p. 94. Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. xiii, and "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, p. 808. [Ed.]

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 unhewn stones, and, being used on only one occasion, they 764 rapidly fall into complete decay. Dr. Hooker mentions that he repeatedly remarked cones of earth, clay, and pebbles, about twelve feet high, upon the hills, which appeared to be artificial. These must have been the broken down pyres.

764 5. THE KISTS CONTAINING THE POTS OF ASHES.—These consist of a circle or square of upright stones, fitting as closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them to do, with one round or square flat stone on the top. They vary in size from a few inches diameter to six or seven feet.



The circular kists are more especially used by the people of the valleys, *i. e.*, who inhabit villages at less than 3,000 feet above the sea; at Walong and Sohbar, which stand west and east of the main Government road as it steeply ascends from Sylhet, there are hundreds (I am not sure that there are not thousands) of kists of this type inside the village. The Khasis of the grassy plateau, the true Nongphlang (*i. e.*, people of the grass in Khasi language, the genuine representative type of the tribe) very commonly employ square kists.

One great feature of the Khasi sepulture is that the ashes of the families are collected from time to time. At first the ashes of a man are probably kept in a small kist. Then after a few years a great general family ceremony is held, and the ashes of the various individuals of the family are collected from the smaller kists. The ashes of all the men are collected into one earthen jar, the ashes of all the women are collected into another, and these two jars are placed in one larger kist, the jar

of women's ashes next the door, *i. e.*, the last stone closed; the reason of which is that in Khasi-land the woman is always mistress of the house. The quantity of ashes altogether is very small. 764

Each occasion of collection of family ashes is accompanied by a grand family feast, which is mainly of pig. No bones of pig could by any chance get inside the kist; that would be horror.

The stones forming the kist fit as closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them; a mouse might, however, generally get in. In the neck of each earthen jar of ashes a close-fitting stone is placed so that no animal could get at the ashes within; but this, of course, does not fit by any means air-tight, and the damp of the climate affects the ashes so much that on re-opening the kists after even a few years, for the purpose of agglomerating the family ashes, it frequently happens that no trace of ashes is found in the earthen jars.

In the descriptions of the Khasi stone monuments hitherto published, these numerous kists appear often overlooked or confounded with the horizontal monumental slab. The kists differ entirely in their object and meaning, and in being closed. So long as they contain earthen jars they cannot be mistaken; but by the continual collection of family ashes the majority of the square kists are left with one side broken down and empty, and in such a state it is sometimes impossible to determine whether the horizontal slab be a monument or the lid of an old kist, unless a family can be found to claim it as their monument. Where there are no upright monumental stones near I incline to suppose that a large majority of these doubtful remains are kists and not monuments.

6. THE MONUMENTAL GROUP.—There are two general types of monumental stones, viz., the upright slab and the horizontal slab. 211

The upright slabs are commonly grouped in threes or fives (sometimes they are seven or more); they are nearly always oblong and set up in a row with the tallest stone in the

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 middle; annexed is a representation of a common type containing five stones.

A common height for the middle stone of such a monument will be six to ten feet, by 2-3 feet wide. The stones are sunk not very deep, say 1-2 feet, into the earth; great numbers of fallen stones are seen. Monuments of this character are often placed on the crest of the hills, and in many parts of Khasiland the landscape appears dotted over with them.

The horizontal slabs are commonly grouped in pairs. The flat slabs may be 5-10 feet long, and are rarely so exactly quadrangular, and they generally have some of the corners irregularly rounded off, and thus pass into the oval or round horizontal slab, which is also a frequent type.

The upright and horizontal slabs are often combined to form a single monument, and perhaps the commonest of all the combinations is that in which five upright slabs have two horizontal before them. The combinations adopted are, however, endless in variety. In these combinations it must be understood that the whole group of stones forms one indivisible monument, which may be the monument of one individual, a household, or a family. Families retain a history of the monuments which belong to the family, and thus in a small degree of the names of their ancestors. Such family monuments may be repaired, added to, or rebuilt from time to time. They are not necessarily placed where the family ashes are kept in kists, or near such kists; but they are usually at no great distance from the village where the family dwells.

The putting up a large stone, say one that stands fifteen feet out of the ground, is a very costly matter, and the monuments of the first class in size in the Khasi country are not very numerous; in the monuments of small stones, the number of stones is often great, I have noticed twenty-one stones in a row, no stone exceeding two feet high.

The upright slabs are (particularly when unaccompanied by any horizontal slabs) usually placed in a straight line. But frequently, where the horizontal slab is round, the upright slabs stand in the arc of a circle, and sometimes the upright slabs are placed in a curved line apparently by accident, or because the nature of the steep ground suggested such an arrangement. Two such monuments occur on the main road to Lailankote.

114 Major Godwin-Austen states in his article on the subject that
801 the upright slabs *always* stand in threes, fives, sevens, etc. This
211 is a mistake; to have the number of stones unequal, with the central slab the tallest, is perhaps the plan adopted in forty-nine monuments out of fifty; but among the vast variety of monuments

in these hills a dozen monuments on the binary type may soon be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and cretaceous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mamloo path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mamloo, Mausmai, and Lirinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

135 (sometimes slaty) than the Cherra sandstones, and are geologically ancient, probably being of palæozoic age, but containing no fossils. They are generally inclined at high angles and the beds are full of joints, and do not admit of large slabs being got out of them. I know of no monument of the first class made out of 211 Shillong rocks, but slabs of six feet high are very common. They are generally obtained by splitting out with wooden wedges and are not often finished with iron tools. The monuments on the Shillong sandstone area are therefore of a much rougher character than the Cherra monuments, the stones irregular in shape, and the stones that should correspond in size only corresponding very roughly. It is often very difficult to say whether these monuments are of the regular 3-5-7 stoned type or not, but they all are designed in general accord with the two great types of upright and horizontal slabs.

135 *c.* A large area, perhaps 1,000 square miles, of the Shillong plateau, is covered with scattered blocks of granite, varying in size up to masses as large as cottages: perhaps the Kollong rock itself (figured by Hooker) might be counted as the extreme size

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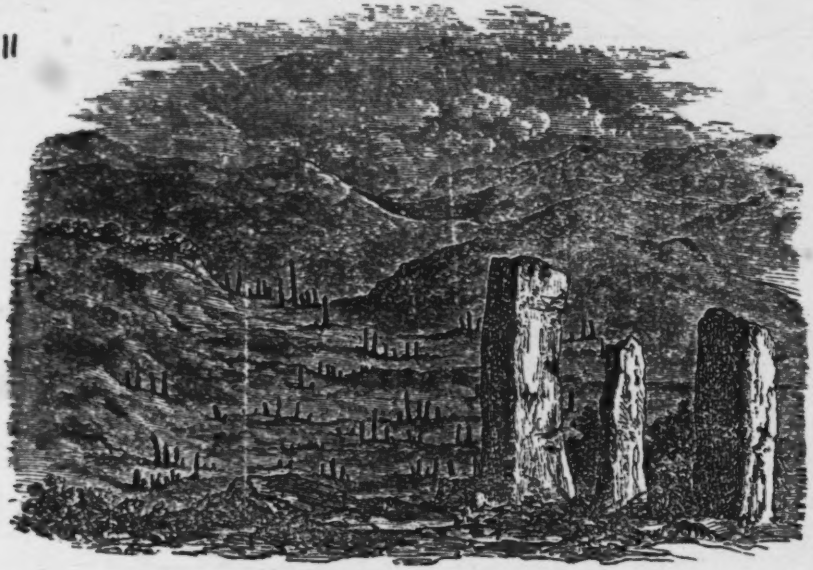


135 such blocks here reach. This granite area runs east and west through the centre (or somewhat through the northern half) of the plateau. It is of great width and continuity westward, becomes broken into isolated areas in the centre of the hills, and becomes very narrow in the Jaintea territory, finally dying out

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 were all found within 200 yards of where they now stand, as may be inferred from the stray stone at about that distance from Stonehenge and not made use of: the small stones were probably brought a considerable distance from the greensand area in the north of the county.

316 483 8. In the setting up of these monuments the Khasis at the present day use only the simplest and most direct mechanical means. For transporting a big stone wooden rollers are placed beneath it and the stone is then drawn by a large number of men harnessed to it by rattan ropes. To set one of the slabs upright, one end is slipped into a hole dug 1-3 feet in the ground, while the other end is tugged by similar ropes. For putting one stone upon another, as in a horizontal slab monument, it is drawn up a sloping stage of bamboo, but if the slab be of great weight, a slope of earth must be constructed, up which it may be pulled. These are the present Khasi methods, and it is, of course, highly probable that similar resources were employed in ancient times. I add a more particular account of some of the larger monuments.

211 9. The monument on the Government main road, about six miles north of Cherra, not far from the village of Lirinow, stands on sheets of Cherra sandstone, out of which the slabs were cut. The tallest stones were about fifteen feet out of the ground. The five stones on the left-hand side (west) of the road were erected when I first visited the hills. The five stones on the right-hand side were erected about four years ago, the family to whom the monument belongs having determined on such an addition. The two portions form one indivisible monument, and exactly correspond, the stones being accurately worked and rounded. The two top-knots are seen in several other monuments, but must, I think, be held proof always of a very late date for their erection. At the Mausmai [531] monument a large rosette is carved on the face of the middle of the big central upright slab, which is also I presume modern work.

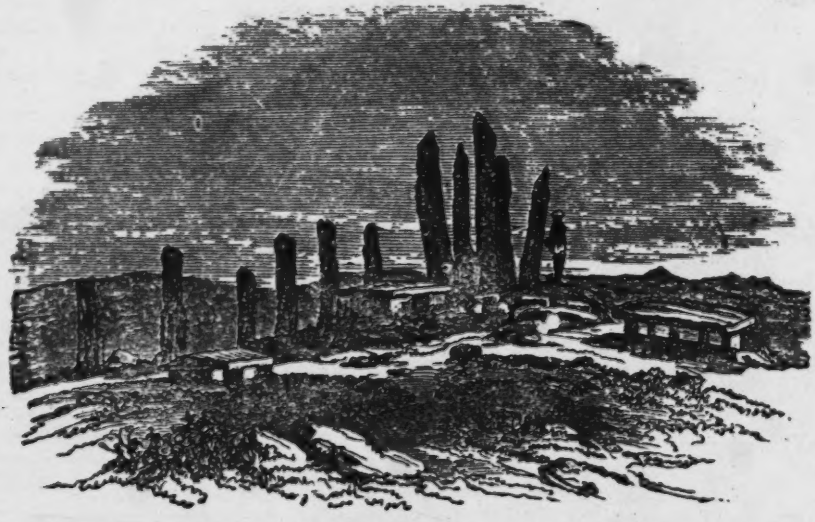
10. The monument at Mamloo village. This is, perhaps, the monument in all the hills which exhibits the largest slabs of Cherra sandstone. It stands on sheets of the same rock and there can be little doubt that the slabs were cut on the spot. It is of the (less usual) binary type.

11. The monuments at Rambrai in the west of Khasi-land. These consist of numerous horizontal and vertical slabs of no great size, the upright slabs being 4-8 feet out of the ground, but remarkable for their arrangement on a long open slope outside the village. The monuments stand all close together, collected as in a churchyard, so that it is not easy to separate

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

out each monument. The upright slabs are placed mainly in ranks, the plane of each slab being parallel to a horizontal line of the sloping ground. The effect of the whole, at a little distance, is exactly that of a ruinous English church-yard. The upright and the flat slabs so exactly correspond to the two types of tombstone which were in almost universal use in England before the rise of modern ritualism, that the correspondence can hardly escape notice. It is improbable that this correspondence can be wholly accidental.

12. The monuments at Laitlankote. These are chiefly made out of a heap of granite blocks which occupy the level top of a small hill, and among them are the largest stones in the Khasai country. Some of the upright slabs are as much as 18 feet out of the ground, and the largest horizontal slab is stated by Colonel Raban, in his account, to be an irregular ellipse; major axis, 32 feet; minor axis, 15 feet; thickness, about 2 feet. It is one block of granite, and, like all the other stones here, is unhewn.



These Laitlankote monuments are collected on the level top of this hill, and (partly, perhaps, from the nature of the ground) they affect, more or less, a circular arrangement—the upright slabs being placed irregularly in arcs of circles on one side of the oval horizontal slabs. The slabs being of unhewn granite are necessarily oval and not quadrangular; but it should be remarked that, in marching from Cherra to Laitlankote, the monuments will be seen to pass quite gradually from the plane to the circular type.

At Laitlankote, the largest horizontal slab is granite: of the

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 others, some are granite, some Shillong sandstone. Of the large upright slabs round the largest horizontal slab, half are granite, half (placed without method) are Shillong sandstone. And so with the other monuments on this hill. There is no general plan or system (so far as I can trace) in the arrangement of these monuments, as a whole.

It has been inferred from the gigantic size, circular arrangement, and rude workmanship of these Laitlankote monuments, that they are of extreme antiquity, probably the oldest in the hills. I see no sufficient grounds for such an assumption. The workmanship is no rougher than in other Khasi monuments made of granite and Shillong sandstone: the quasi-circular arrangement may be seen in hundreds of monuments: and as to the size of the stones, that proves to me, chiefly, that the Laitlankote monuments were erected when Laitlankote was a dominant and prosperous village. I do not say that the Laitlankote monuments may not be very old, but I should not be the least surprised if positive proof turned up that they had been erected within the last century.

13. The monuments at Nurtiung, figured by Dr. Hooker, and called by him, the "Nurtiung Stonehenge." Nurtiung is in the Jaintea territory, about ten miles east of the Khasi boundary. Dr. Hooker's picture is on a small scale, and gives little idea of the great extent of the Nurtiung monuments, which stand also more closely packed than I should have supposed from the picture.

This Nurtiung Stonehenge contains the largest stones of any monuments in the Shillong plateau; they are also remarkable for being of hewn granite, and further, they are not scattered about the hill tops, but placed within the sacred grove of the village, in a valley near a lake, so that they stand, mingled with large trees, in a manner which I have seen nowhere else in Khasiland.

One of the worked granite blocks is 27 feet high out of the ground, about 6 feet broad at the base, and 2½ feet thick, and is neatly shaped and dressed. This, I suppose to be the work of Bengali artizans, or of their Jaintea apprentices, possibly. There are other very large worked granite slabs; one now used as a bridge, but, perhaps, originally intended for a monument. The area at Nurtiung, thickly covered with monuments, is not less than an acre, and there are more scattered monuments around. The exciting cause for this Stonehenge is, that at Nurtiung there occurs an outlying cluster of granite blocks. None of the large stones at Nurtiung appear to have been moved many feet. The numerous monuments are all reducible to the two types of upright and horizontal slabs, as indicated in the picture of Dr. Hooker.

Until the English period, say up to 1828, it does not appear that the Hindoos penetrated much into the Khasi hills; but they did into the Jaintea hills, and I imagine that either themselves or their handicrafts reached as far as Nurtiung. There is a typical large monument of upright slabs at Jainteapore, the capital of the Jaintea plains.

14. The notes for the above account of the stone monuments of the Khasi hills were placed in the hands of Colonel McCulloch (late Governor-General's agent at Muneypoor), and I have availed myself of many suggestions which he has kindly given me in the present paper.

DISCUSSION.

Major GODWIN-AUSTEN said, one of the most interesting points of Mr. Clarke's paper is the notice of the separation of the ashes of the men and women of a family, at certain intervals, into separate earthen pots. I may mention that the shape of the cysts is never the same in any one part of the Khasi hills; sometimes they are oblong and above ground, and sometimes they stand on a raised platform. On opening one, in a part of the country long since deserted, I found entire bones, calcined, and ornaments; these are now always taken off the body before cremation, but, evidently, in former times, were burnt with the dead. The distance the Khasis sometimes carry the monumental stones is considerable. I know of blocks of granite that have been taken into the sandstone area nearly four miles. The custom of setting up these stones is fast dying out, and some villages have given it up altogether. It is impossible to say what age some of the monoliths may be; all history of most of them is gone, and the present generation can give no account of them. The custom is one of great antiquity, I think, and there is no reason why some of the stones, now standing, may not be many hundred years old.

Mr. A. L. LEWIS said, if he, as a visitor, might be allowed to make a few remarks, he would suggest that there was no reason whatever for connecting the monuments of the Khasis with those of Britain. Mr. Clarke had spoken of stones lying round Stonehenge as showing that the stones composing it had been gathered close at hand; but this was not so, as they had been brought from a distance of some miles, and there were no loose stones lying round Stonehenge, except those which had been placed there by design. That design was found running through all the British circles that he had seen; but it was certainly not found in the Khasi monuments. It was, however, found in the circles in southern India, figured by Colonel Forbes Leslie, which differed, therefore, from the Khasi monuments, and resembled those of Britain. He had pointed this out before the British Association as long ago as 1869, in a paper which would be found printed in full in the Journal of Anthropology, 1870, p. 286, and also in subsequent papers read before the Anthropological Society and Institute, and published in the proceedings.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [175] [101] [211] [346] [771] [Jatinga]

This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

101 121 621 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 166 175 621 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

166 551 614 621 175

his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

FURTHER NOTES *on the* RUDE STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES. By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India. [With Plates ii. and iii.]

HAVING again visited the Khasi Hills since writing my last paper, I am enabled to give some further details regarding their

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills when the relations between the large village communities or

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR 7
Khasi AR 7

764
172
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I give a sketch of a form of cinerary meriting attention, and not hitherto noticed (Plate iii.). Several of this form may be seen on a low spur near the Bazar of Jeddo at Shillong. The cinerary is above ground, and stands on a slightly raised platform; it consists of four thick stones, about three feet high, set on edge, and capped with a heavy top-stone; and, so far, it resembles the usual form, a figure of which is given in my first paper.* The approach to all these depositories is from the eastward by several low steps, and the whole structure is enclosed on three sides by large flat slabs (in the rough) standing on end—the largest being placed round the cinerary itself, overtopping it by three to four feet, and the remainder, thence diminishing in size, stand on either side of the steps. There are about six such monuments along the ridge of the spur, and I have seen no others similar elsewhere. They have been broken into, and the front stone removed, very probably by camp followers from our regimental bazar, which is close by. There is thus a double probability of their ultimate destruction altogether, should the station be extended in that direction.

Explanation of Plates II. and III.

211

Plate II.—View of megalithic monuments at Nougshai, near Shillong, Khasi Hills. From a photograph taken by Mr. W. Robert.

764
172

Plate III.—View of rude stone cinerary and approach, at Shillong, Khasi Hills, with cairn in the distance: by the author.

Discussion.

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The President said that the paper of Lieut. de Crespigny, on the Milanows of Borneo, contained a great deal of extremely interesting information, especially in relation to their religious customs; the author, however, attempted to connect the Milanows with the inhabitants of Timor, through the similarity of their religious beliefs. He (the President) did not venture to express any opinion on this point, not having any grounds for forming one. He thought, however, that, as a general rule, evidence of identity of races, derived from the comparison of the religions of savages, must be received with caution, especially in the absence of any information as to physical resemblance. The attention that is devoted to religion arises from the interest that is taken in the subject, rather than from the value of the evidence it affords of connection with other peoples. There must always be a great liability to error in the accounts of the religious customs of savages. Inquiries into the resemblance of the arts of different people, about which there could be no mistake, were, he thought,

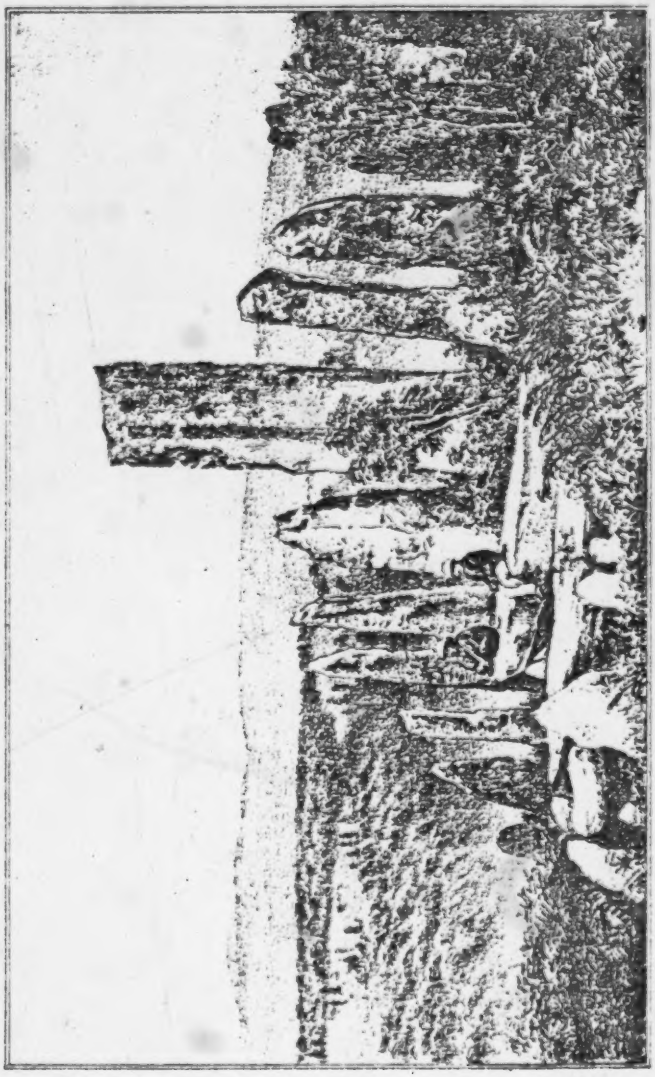
* Read May 1st, 1871.

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR 7
Khasi AR 7

[p. 40-A]

• 211
172

Journ. Anthropolog. Inst. VolV Pl II



STONE MONUMENTS, NEAR SHILLONG, KHASI HILLS

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

of more scientific value; and the vocabularies given by the author in this paper would, no doubt, be found of great use to comparative philologists. He hoped that the Institute would be favoured with some further information on the races of Borneo from Lieut. de Crespigny.

With regard to the paper by Major Godwin-Austen, he (the President) would say his communications were always welcome to the Institute. He wished that a more detailed account had been given of the intrenchment referred to. There appears to have been a great camp-building period in the life of most races, when neighbouring tribes were constantly at war, and each had its stronghold in case of attack. Such camps are conspicuous amongst the antiquities of nearly all parts of the world, and a comparison of the different sytems of defence adopted, when viewed by the knowledge of the art of castrametation which we possess, affords reliable evidence of psychic..l connections. In the early British camps of this country he had never seen any evidence of the use of flanking defence except at the entrances; but the description given by Major Austin of this earthwork appeared to indicate that something of the kind was known to these people.